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AUTHOR Bennaars, Gerard A.; Seif, Huda A.; Mwangi, Doris

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ABSTRACT

In 1995, the International Consultative Forum on Education for All commissioned case studies in developing countries as part of a mid-decade review of progress in expanding access to basic education. This paper examines the situation in Somalia, where civil war has completely destroyed the infrastructure of education. Part 1 summarizes Somalia's political history, leading to government collapse and interclan warfare in 1991; the history of traditional, Islamic, and colonial education in Somalia; and educational needs in the early 1990s. Part 2 describes efforts of United Nations agencies and nongovernmental organizations to coordinate provision of educational funding, materials, and technical assistance, and depicts the educational situation in each of Somalia's geographical zones. Part 3 critically analyzes the problems involved in the educational process, given the Somali crisis, examining efforts and needs in the areas of the Education for All initiative, the organization of education, curriculum development, teacher education, and community participation. This section also discusses the challenge of retaining girls in school after grade 3, the important role of community Koranic schools and Islamic schools, education of nomads (a large proportion of the population), emergence of voluntary women's educational associations, lack of vocational and higher education, and provision of education in refugee camps. Part 4 summarizes study findings and makes recommendations in each of the areas covered in Part 3. (SV)

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MID-DECADE REVIEW OF PROGRESS TOWARDS EDUCATION FOR ALL

CASE STUDY

SOMALIA

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FOREWORD

Five years after the World Conference on Education for All in Jomtien, Thailand 1990, **the International Consultative Forum on Education for All** (the EFA Forum) undertook a review of how far countries have come in their efforts to reach Education for All.

This stocktaking of progress was done by various means. It drew on statistics and reports done by ministries of education all over the world. To complement these governmental reports, the EFA Forum asked a number of independent researchers in developing countries to provide a more in-depth view of Education for All in their countries.

From among these case studies on interesting experiences in providing basic education, we have selected a few for publication. For example, these studies look at the challenges of getting girls to stay in school and complete their primary education even though they are needed in the household economy or the school environment is geared to boys; efforts to provide education in emergency situations due to war and conflict; and the provision of education in the mother tongue of the pupils to promote learning. In short, these case studies deal with some of the current issues in basic education worldwide, and they shed light on the varying conditions in which basic education takes place. The approach and perspective vary between the studies, reflecting the diversity of the actors involved in EFA. We hope you will find these studies interesting reading.

The authors of the case studies have been selected and contracted by field offices of UNDP, UNICEF and UNESCO. These offices also proposed the themes of the studies. The EFA Forum Secretariat wishes to extend its thanks to the authors and the field offices that have provided efficient assistance in carrying out these case studies.

These case studies are written by independent researchers and consultants. The views expressed on policies, programmes and projects are those of the authors and do not necessarily represent the views of the EFA Forum.

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MID-DECADE REVIEW OF PROGRESS TOWARDS EDUCATION FOR ALL:

THE SOMALIA COUNTRY CASE STUDY

By
Gerard A. Bennaars
Huda A. Seif
Doris Mwangi

Nairobi
February 1996

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Nairobi
March 2, 1996

Gerard Bennaars
Huda A. Seif
Doris Mwangi

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AUTHORS' FOREWORD

Education For All, as defined in Jomtien in 1990, represents a vision which emphasizes that "every person --- child, youth and adult -- shall be able to benefit from educational opportunities designed to meet their basic learning needs" (*Article 1*). Of special importance to Education For All, according to the Jomtien Conference, are: i) the primacy placed on meeting basic learning needs; ii) the plurality of means used to achieve Education For All; and iii) the direct involvement of the community concerned in designing and organizing such basic education. However, if there is no strong commitment to make it happen, this vision, inspiring as it is, remains a dream

In the case of Somalia, the concept of Education For All was introduced to the country at the worst possible moment: the beginning of the civil war. In the wake of this war the educational infrastructure was totally destroyed. The destruction was accompanied by the breakdown of the country's administrative infrastructure, by political and social disorder and conflicts, by extreme poverty, famine and disease as well as violence and insecurity countrywide. Prior to 1990, education in Somalia had already entered a state of crisis. The civil war clearly exacerbated this situation, thereby rendering the implementation of Education For All highly problematic.

This report seeks to examine the situation in Somaila, first in **Part One** by placing education within context, and in **Part Two** by describing efforts to reconstruct education in Somalia, including the initial steps towards the realization of Education For All. In **Part Three** the report critically analyzes the problems involved in the education process, given the Somali crisis. Finally, in **Part Four** the report presents the findings in a summary form and makes specific recommendations which it is hoped will facilitate and promote Education For All in Somalia.

PART ONE

EDUCATION IN SOMALIA: AN INTRODUCTION

1. Background

1.1 Somalia - An Introduction

Somalia is situated in the Horn of Africa with an estimated population of six to seven and a half million (UNDP, 1990). It stretches along the Indian Ocean, bordering in the West on Kenya, Ethiopia and Djibouti, while to the north it faces the Gulf of Aden. The country is divided into 18 regions, each subdivided into districts. These regions tend to be clustered into a number of zones or politico-geographical areas:

- *The Northwest Zone*, better known as "Somaliland", a self-proclaimed republic with Hargeisa as its main city. This zone consists of five regions, Awdal, West Galbeed, Toghdeer, Sanaag and Sool, the latter two being contested areas.

- *The Northeast Zone*, a sparsely populated and peaceful area, made up of two regions, Bari and Nugaal, with Bossaso, Gardo and Garowe as important centres.

- *The Central Zone*, consisting of two regions, Mudug and Galgaduud, with Galcaio as the main town.

- *The South Zones*, subdivided into: *the Southcentral Zone*, consisting of four regions, Middle and Lower Shabelle, Hiraan and Benaadir, an area formerly of great wealth and power, and now of constant conflict, with Mogadishu as the central city; *the Southwest Zone*, made up of three regions, Bay, Bakool and Gedo, an area of conflict and strife like the Southcentral Zone, with Baidoa as the main town; and *the South Zone*, which consists of two regions, Middle and Lower Juba. The region is mainly dominated by the port of Kismayo.

The origins of the Somali people can be traced to two genealogical lines; the Sab and the Samale. The Sab are predominantly agriculturists and mainly inhabit the interriverine region of the southern part of the country. Ethnically, they can be identified as a mixture of Somali and other Bantu populations, whereas the Samale refers to those Somali groups who are mostly situated in the northern regions.

Despite the existence of this dichotomy, the Somali people share an over-arching culture with one language that can be understood by a majority, or 95 percent, of the population -- a language that has been categorized as part of the Afro-asiatic branch and the Eastern Cushitic sub-branch of languages (Laitin, 1977). Historically, both clan and sub-clans, together with

colonialism and the Cold War politics of power blocs and ideological alliances, have contributed in shaping and re-shaping the course of Somalia's politics and economy in recent years.

Economically, Somalia is one of the least developed countries in the world with a per capita income of US$ 290 (World Bank, 1990). It is further estimated that 40 percent of the urban population and 70 percent of the rural population live below what is considered as the "poverty line" (UNDP, 1990).

1.2 Somalia - The State

Nearly one hundred years after the opening of the Suez Canal in 1869, which directly encouraged western colonialism in the Horn of Africa, Somalia became an independent and unified state. In June 1960 the Somali Republic was established out of the merger between the Italian "Trust Territory" and the British Protectorate. This merger was not the logical outcome of a well-designed plan; rather, it signified the inevitable end of a century-old struggle for colonial domination. Already in 1936, Italy had sought to establish *La Grande Somalia* by extending its occupation to Ethiopia and in 1941 to the British Protectorate. Thereafter, from 1941 to 1950, the British Military Administration that arose during the Second World War controlled the whole of Somalia, except Djibouti (or French Somaliland). In 1950, Italy was again entrusted with its former colony, extending from the Northeast to the Central and Southern Zones, which now became known through the United Nations as a "Trust Territory". Britain was left with the Northwest Zone, called the British Protectorate.

As the territory was subjected to political rivalries, the Somali clans organized themselves into political associations that represented the distinct interests of each major clan. When in 1960 Somalia became an independent and unified state, these same interests were reflected through the proportionate representation of clan members in administrative bodies, such as the National Assembly, in the South. But upon unification with the North, the situation changed. The unification of Somalia tended to sharpen regional divisions, and further articulated clan and sub-clan divisions, a trend that continued through the 1960s. Factionalism, therefore, undermined the fragile unity of the Somali State during the first decade of independence.

In 1969, General Mohamed Siad Barre exploited the overall state of confusion to impose his military regime and to put an end to democracy in post-independence Somalia. Siad Barre's dictatorial rule lasted 22 years, from 1969 till 1991. During this period, the Barre regime systematically destroyed whatever unity was left in Somalia as he established the hegemony of his government, constituted by three Darood sub-clans. He concentrated enormous power and wealth in the Darood people, whilst continually bringing them closer to Mogadishu. This was a provocation to the leaders of the clans marginalized by the regime. As a result, inter-clan fighting erupted all over Somalia during a prolonged period characterized by violent repression, forced appropriation of property, acquisition of military hardware, and increasing factionalism directly instigated by Siad Barre's policy of "divide and rule". A state of political anarchy ensued and a situation of civil war developed throughout Somalia, with clans and sub-clans fighting each other

continuously for local supremacy. Towards the late 1980s, Barre's domination begun to draw to an end, finally collapsing in early 1990.

1.3 A State of Crisis

The overthrow of Siad Barre brought about the total disintegration of the Somali Republic. The collapse of the old regime in 1991 only increased the open hostilities and the clan-based conflicts. Soon thereafter, the Somali National Movement (SNM) declared the independence of the Northwest as the Republic of Somaliland. By contrast, the Northeast remained peaceful, mainly because of the dominance of one clan in that area (the Majerteen). Meanwhile, the clan warlords turned the interriverine regions of the South into a permanent battlefield. Soon, more than 20 clan-based "national" or "democratic" movements fought for the control of Somalia, notably the Habar Gedir faction led by Farah Aideed, the self-styled president of Somalia, operating in Mogadishu South. Since 1991, intermittent civil war throughout Somalia has totally destroyed the state.

The collapse of the political order was accompanied by the severe dislocation of economic activities. Grain stores and livestock were looted and the commercial infrastructure was destroyed by bandits and militia. Farmers were unable to cultivate their crops due to the constant warfare in the rural areas, which became racked by famine. Already in 1990 Somalia was one of the least developed countries in the world, but subsequent wars and famine have aggravated the situation. According to UN Agencies (United Nations Development Office for Somalia, UNDOS, 1995), as many as 350,000 people died from the combination of violence and famine during 1991 and 1992.

Throughout 1991 and the first half of 1992, several relief agencies, such as Save the Children Fund, Medecins Sans Frontieres, the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC), the International Federation of Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies (IFRC) and UNICEF carried out emergency relief work in the regions most devastated by the civil strife and famine. These agencies distributed food and provided emergency health care. But as the war continued, delivery of relief supplies was frequently hampered by attacks from armed bandits and clan militia. To provide security for relief convoys and personnel, the UN Security Council launched the United Nations Operations in Somalia, UNOSOM, in 1991 and later Operation Restore Hope in December 1992, an operation led by UNITAF (UN Task Force). In May 1993, UNITAF handed over command to UNOSOM II, whose mandate included disarmament and demobilization, the promotion of a transitional government, and an expansion of humanitarian operations.

2. Education in Perspective

2.1 A Historical Perspective

Education in contemporary Somalia exists against the socio-political background described above. It also takes place within a given historical context. We would argue, in fact, that

education in present times can not be understood without at least some reference to the past. Three stages may be distinguished: traditional education, colonial education and post-colonial education.

Traditional Education: The Somali people have always cherished their traditional cultures, which are partly indigenous, partly Islamic. For centuries education reflected the values, norms and interests of the traditional pastoralists. These people tended to be nomadic, and consequently they adapted education to their situation, which meant informal education. A more formal element was derived from Koranic schools (*duksis*, or *mal'amad* as they are called in the northern regions), but even these *duksis* were mobile, moving with the herders in seasonal migration patterns, responding to the rains and available grazing land.

Traditional education was both socio-cultural and religious in character, taking place within the context of the extended family and its herds, as well as the Koranic schools, moving along with them. Such traditional education tended to be directly relevant to people's basic needs. It was highly flexible and adaptive to the environment. Thus, nomadic education, ingeniously combined with Islamic education, constituted the core of traditional education. Although variations in modes of transmitting education may have existed between different Somali groups, a common factor was provided by the Islamic tradition of Koranic schools.

Colonial Education: The advent of colonialism towards the end of the last century brought with it the introduction of social institutions that were foreign to the Somali people. Schooling in the western sense was one such institution that made its appearance in the former British and Italian colonies after the 1930s. The school system that was established was limited in scope and outreach, serving only a small number of pupils, which was in line with the basic purpose of the colonial school: to train clerical staff for the colonial administration. Towards 1960, the colonial systems had produced only a handful of educated people and left a minimal education infrastructure. In short, colonial education appeared to be largely insignificant, if not irrelevant, to the vast majority of Somalis.

Post-Colonial Education: In 1960, upon gaining independence, the new Republic of Somalia inherited 233 primary and 12 secondary schools of differing origins, philosophies and standards from the British and Italian colonial systems. Not much progress was recorded for the next decade and a large section of the population continued to perceive schooling as a foreign institution, irrelevant to their lives.

An apparently insignificant development changed all this: the introduction of the Somali language into the schools. Colonial history had bestowed two "foreign" languages on Somalia: English and Italian. The Somali language was not taught in school. In fact, it could not be taught, as it had no agreed written form. The fervent nationalism at the time of independence questioned this lack of a written national language. Only ten years later, Siad Barre seized upon the language issue to promote both nationalism and formal education. In 1972, the first Somali alphabet, using the Latin script, was introduced, and thereafter the Somali language gradually became the official

medium of instruction first in the lower and later in the higher classes. In 1974, the Siad Barre regime launched a mass literacy campaign based on the new alphabet, and simultaneously embarked on the expansion of the country's education system. Underlying these developments was the common perception -- and expectation -- that the use of the Somali language was to promote the indigenisation of schooling in Somalia.

As a result of these developments, the enrolment figures for primary schools rose from 28,000 in 1970 to 220,000 in 1976, and to 271,000 in 1982. Likewise, the number of primary schools increased from 287 in 1970 to 844 in 1975 and to 1407 in 1980. Further, the number of teachers reached a peak of 3,376 in 1981. In short, by 1980 some definite progress had been recorded in the primary education sector.

Soon, however, formal education in Somalia entered a period of serious decline. With most government expenditure being absorbed by military needs, only very limited funds were available to the education sector. Only 1.5% to 2% of the national budget was being allocated to education in the late 1980s. Schools started to deteriorate rapidly, as administrators and teachers sought better remuneration elsewhere. By 1990, the total number of pupils in primary schools had declined to 150,000, the number of schools had been reduced to 644 and the number of trained teachers had gone down to 611. In this deteriorating situation, the civil war broke out, during which the (formal) education system collapsed almost completely.

2.2 The Islamic Presence

In the absence of formal education in Somalia from 1991 to 1992, and even prior to that, the Islamic presence, as evidenced by the Koranic schools everywhere, was most remarkable. The Koranic school was, and still is, a socio-cultural institution of great religious significance. All children, boys and girls, must attend Koranic school from the age of four onwards. It is a sacred obligation throughout the Islamic World, not least in Somalia, observed in towns and villages and in every community. Usually, there is a Koranic school within every community.

Very few Koranic teachers have any knowledge of teaching secular subjects. Nonetheless, they have a tremendous influence on the children, are well respected in the community, and often have informal discussions with the children on various issues. In this way, Koranic schools have existed for centuries, and have continued to exist throughout the present wars and conflicts. The Koranic school teachers are paid directly by the parents and pupils, often in the form of gifts and food. Since they move with the nomadic community, they are always available.

The teaching-learning process in Koranic schools, or rather Koranic classes, has been institutionalized over the centuries. A fixed pattern has developed that can not easily be changed. In the traditional Koranic class the pupils learn to memorize and recite the Koran. The "curriculum" is completed when the pupils can recite the 30 chapters of the Koranic text. Children usually attend up to the age of 15. There is little variety of activity in the Koranic class, as it is concerned with rote memorization of the Koran. Given this concern, the Koranic schools

remain primarily a religious institution.

3. Education in the early 1990s

3.1 The Collapse of the System

The crisis in Somalia's education system started during the 1980s, well before the civil war. It was caused by the increasing militarization of the Siad Barre regime, which diverted most resources to military uses, thereby bringing about the decline of social and economic services, including education. But the civil war, when it broke out in 1991, dealt the final blow to the education system, destroying the infrastructure and the disruption of educational services. Many pupils and teachers were forced to flee from the schools and seek safety in their home-clan areas or in the refugee camps abroad. Meanwhile, school buildings were being destroyed, educational material and equipment were being looted and teachers and administrators were not being paid. Throughout 1991 and 1992, the overall insecurity prevented children and teachers from attending schools, which in the circumstances could not function anyway. In short, by the early 1990s, when Education for All (EFA) was advocated worldwide, the formal education sector in Somalia was in complete chaos. At this point in time, Somalia presented the worst possible situation, the very antithesis of Education for All, namely, Education for None.

Before the civil war, the over-riding problem in the education sector had been inadequate financing. The issue in the early 1990s was no public financing at all for the education sector. Similarly, the issue before the war with respect to teachers was low pay and very poor working conditions. In 1991/92, it was no pay at all and the suspension of all educational services. Before the war, educational facilities were in an advanced state of disrepair, and there were few textbooks and instructional materials. In 1991/92, there were practically no textbooks or instructional materials available at all (Seif, 1995). As a result of the civil war, the educational infrastructure of the country was almost in ruins. About 90% of school buildings were either completely or partially destroyed. Roofs, windows, school furniture and fittings were all looted. All school records were lost.

In addition to the physical damage caused by the civil war and the subsequent looting, the educational tradition and the education ladder of a whole nation was severely damaged. Education in the formal sense did not take place for two years. Most Somali children of school age had no school to attend. The damage done to a generation of children deprived of access to formal education is impossible to assess at this point in time. An emergency situation had arisen by the early 1990s with hardly any schools functioning, and an emergency solution was required.

3.2 Education in Emergencies

The formal educational system collapsed as early as 1991 despite the Islamic presence. However, the need to restore the education system coincided in time with the relief phase, when

the main concern was with such primary needs as food, health and shelter. It was also clear that education in an emergency situation needed to address problems of various kinds: children traumatized by war, women and youth in distress, destroyed school infrastructure, absence of standardized curriculum, lack of trained teachers, and overall underdevelopment. Principles and policies for education had to focus on: rapid re-establishment of basic education; the use of appropriate delivery methods; rebuilding the education systems; training of teachers; community participation and ownership; sustainability; and building field-level partnerships (Devadoss et al., 1995).

PART TWO

EDUCATION IN SOMALIA: A DESCRIPTIVE ACCOUNT

4. The inter-agency approach

4.1 Coordination and cooperation

The absence of a Somali Central Government and the subsequent lack of a Central Education Authority to take responsibility of coordinating the education sector during the last five years in Somalia has further challenged a sector that has been seriously weakened by decreasing national investment. During the early 1990s, NGOs and UN Agencies tended to act independently and individually, which resulted in haphazard ways of funding and implementing education. Moreover, the UN agencies and NGOs have different modalities for operating and different goals.

In the first half of the 1990s, coordination meetings were held regularly in Mogadishu, the base of Somalia operations till 1995. There have been attempts to institutionalize inter-agency coordination in education, with a view of prioritizing issues and coordinating operations. Plans were made for a Somalia Education Conference but the conference never materialized owing to the deteriorating security situation. Coordination efforts by UNESCO have continued since 1995, with professional and logistical support by the United Nations Development Office for Somalia (UNDOS).

Cooperation and coordination remain problematic today, not only at the inter-agency level but even more so at the community level, where community support for education is not forthcoming as expected. An indication of the efforts made so far by various international agencies towards reconstructing education in Somalia is given below.

4.2 UNESCO Somalia

Following the UN response through UNOSOM to complex emergencies, an inter-agency approach to education was proposed, to be coordinated by UNESCO. To this end, UNESCO PEER (Programme for Education for Emergencies and Reconstruction) was established in January 1993 and began its operation first in Mogadishu. An Education Development Centre (EDC) was set up in Mogadishu which brought together a number of educators. The programme soon expanded to the rest of Somalia, to Northwest Somalia and to various refugee camps in Kenya, Djibouti, Yemen and Ethiopia.

In this emergency situation, no single UN agency or Non-Governmental Organization (NGO) was capable alone of assuming responsibility for the task of rehabilitation. Accordingly, an inter-agency approach was required, as it was seen to be the most expedient and logical

response in the circumstances.

UNESCO PEER began its operations in January 1993. Following the recommendations of the World Bank Report (Education Rehabilitation Project 1990), UNESCO PEER developed a strategy for the rehabilitation of the Somalia educational system. Putting the concept of education for emergencies into practice, it identified the following areas of concern, for which policies were worked out in cooperation with operational agencies in the field:

(a) Educational Authority: To provide educational governance at the regional level UNESCO (with UNICEF) developed a strategy based on revitalizing the Regional Education Committees or Boards. Efforts were also made to strengthen the District Education Committees and Community School Committees. The success of the strategy has varied, depending on the support from the community.

(b) Curriculum and materials: As Somalia's educational system collapsed, schools were looted and destroyed, and as a result educational materials and textbooks were no longer available. UNESCO PEER sought to recover the textbooks and teacher-guides that had been in use in the pre-war period. Whenever such materials were not available, new books had to be written. Following this retrieval exercise, textbooks and guides had to be reprinted and distributed to primary schools in Somalia. Meanwhile, programmes have been launched for peace education, health education, mine awareness and adult literacy.

(c) Teachers' Remuneration: Given the lack of a central coordinating body, except to some extent in Northwest Somalia, and given the different policies of various agencies and NGOs, the remuneration of teachers has varied greatly from region to region. UNESCO has tried to initiate coordination of the various practices. To date, however, teachers are irregularly paid in cash or in kind, with WFP providing food to a large number of teachers. But problems remain regarding the modalities and the high degree of variation. More importantly, the problem of unpaid or underpaid "voluntary" teachers still remains unresolved, impeding the efficiency and even threatening the very existence of schooling in Somalia.

(d) Teacher Training: As early as in 1987 the World Bank and UNESCO had noted that Somalia had one of the highest teacher attrition rates in the world, with a wastage rate of regularly established teachers at around 25% per annum. Together with the effects of the civil war, this has led to a teacher population of volunteers who are largely unqualified and untrained. To remedy the situation, UNESCO PEER has translated an emergency teacher training programme, Somalia Open Learning Unit (SOMOLU). On a short term basis, UNESCO in collaboration with UNICEF has developed a Training of Trainers (TOT) programme which is implemented through workshops in the various regions. Over 100 textbook workshops have been held for head teachers all over the country to re-introduce the curriculum.

(e) Rehabilitating the infrastructure: In the absence of a common policy regarding the rehabilitation of the school infrastructure, progress has varied. International NGOs, WFP,

UNDP, UNHCR, and UNICEF have been directly involved in this area, while UNESCO has had a more indirect role..

4.3 UNICEF

Like UNESCO, UNICEF has been greatly involved in the reconstruction of Somali education and its involvement goes well beyond education, to various health programmes through Mother and Child Health Centres (MCH), Outpatient Dispensaries (OPDs) etc. UNICEF is further concerned with nutrition through its various feeding centres all over the country. Furthermore, UNICEF has a comprehensive Water and Environmental Sanitation Programme.

In the education sector UNICEF (in collaboration with UNESCO) has been directly involved in:

(a) The distribution of educational materials, notably Teacher Emergency Packages (TEP) and textbooks;
(b) The training of teachers and regional trainers through the Training of Trainers (TOT) Programme;
(c) The rehabilitation of school buildings, through physical improvement and the provision of furniture;
(d) The dissemination of information posters on education, particularly the education of the girl-child;
(e) Various initiatives related to girls' education and training of women's groups.

In 1994-95, UNICEF was engaged in four projects under their Basic Education Programme, namely Koranic Education, Primary Education, Women's Education and Psycho-Social Education. A large number of Koranic Schools were assisted through physical improvement, the provision of educational materials and the training of teachers. Also, psycho-social support was given to traumatized children in Southern Somalia.

There are strong indications (Sesnan and Milas, 1995) that UNICEF will in future place more emphasis on: i) the quality of education; and ii) the provision of basic education, involving literacy, numeracy and essential knowledge (life skills).

4.4 Other UN Agencies

Apart from UNESCO and UNICEF, other UN agencies have been involved in reconstructing Somali education:

WFP (World Food Programme), in collaboration with CARE, has been involved in the physical rehabilitation of schools, primarily through its monetization schemes, whereby funds raised from the sale of "high value commodities" are used to this end. More prominently, WFP has assisted by means of its Food for Work programme, thereby providing food to teachers in

primary schools in return for their services as teachers. WFP has supported some 7,000 teachers in 690 schools in this way, according to available information. Furthermore, WFP has organized the School Feeding Programme in a number of schools.

UNDP Somalia plays a limited yet highly significant role in the education sector through the professional and logistical support given by UNDOS to UNESCO's efforts at coordinating the education sector, educational data collection and processing, and UNDP-OPS community-based schools to which income generating schemes are attached.

UNHCR is more specifically concerned with refugee education, notably in Djibouti and Dadaab (Kenya). While funding and logistical support have been provided by UNHCR in all refugee camps, implementing agencies have varied.

4.5 Non-Governmental Organizations

Both local and international NGOs have been instrumental in reconstructing parts of Somalia's education sector. Their contributions and degree of participation vary, as well as their areas of operation. It should be noted that relatively few NGOs work in the education sector.

CONCERN was active in Bakool, Bay, Benaadir and Lower Shabelle regions, from 1992 to 1994. It developed a well-organized network of 22 schools, with a total of 21,620 students and 505 teachers. CONCERN has further provided supervision services through its Mogadishu and Baidoa Offices, and supported teachers both materially and professionally.

Trocaire (Irish Aid) has supported re-establishment of the school system, particularly in Gedo Region, where Trocaire has re-opened 18 schools with 63 teachers and 1,090 students. All schools were built on a cost-sharing basis, that is, with community involvement. Trocaire (in liaison with NCA and UNESCO) is also concerned with the quality and organization of education.

Norwegian Church Aid (NCA) is particularly active in Gedo Region, where it supports 10 schools with 50 teachers and 1,515 students. NCA and Trocaire supervise many schools successfully in close cooperation with UNESCO.

International Committee for the Development of Peoples (CISP) operates mainly in the Galgadud region on a rather limited scale with 11 teachers and 265 students in Mudug and similar plans for Galgadud.

Emergency Pastoralist Assistance Group (EPAG), a British NGO, provides informal education at the village level in northern Gedo. They are involved in awareness raising and capacity building at the community level, running business training workshops and adult literacy classes for women, and animal health care training for nomadic pastoralists. EPAG has a Community Awareness Team (CAT) which is responsible for all community mobilisation activities and training workshops. The team utilises an informal approach incorporating story-telling

activities, role-play and illustrated training manuals for illiterate people.

Other NGOs include *Swedish Church Relief* (SCR), which prior to 1995 supported 12 primary schools in the Lower Shabelle Region with 2,048 students. Presently, these schools are managed by *International Aid Sweden* (IAS). *Adventist Development & Relief Agency* (ADRA) runs a vocational school in Mogadishu North for 200 students (including 30 women); it also runs workshops, through SAACID, a Somali NGO. Further, *Ananda Marga Universal Relief Team* (AMURT) has supported schools in Bay Region, and has also initiated income generating activities for schools, for instance through a sunflower seed project and grinding mills. *DIAKONIA* (Sweden) works mainly in Garowe, Nugal Region. *Diakonie Caritas Germany* (DCG) has rehabilitated and administered schools in Mogadishu while *Save the Children Fund* (SCF) has been active till lately in Northwest Somalia. *World Concern* runs a technical education programmes in Garoe. The NGOs' involvement tends to be highly localized, and restricted to one or two regions. Even so, all NGOs cooperate with UNESCO in terms of textbook distribution and teacher training.

5. Education reconstructed: An overview

5.1 A Fragmented Approach

The reconstruction of education in Somalia is a complex affair that requires the combined efforts of UN Agencies, NGOs and the community concerned. The sections above have described the contributions made by NGOs and the UN agencies. The contribution of the Somali community is less easy to describe, however. Their input at different levels is as fragmented as the nation itself. For the purposes of our discussion, however, we will distinguish three levels of community input; national, regional and local (school level).

The contribution made to education by the national community is normally problematic, as there is no national community in Somalia today. In the absence of a recognized central educational authority, the effective reconstruction of Somali education becomes virtually impossible. As there is no national education system, curriculum reforms cannot be legitimately introduced. UN agencies have no mandate to propose a new curriculum or a new structure in the absence of a national body that legally represents the Somali community. Even regional authorities may be non-existent, and where they exist they may not be generally recognized as such. In short, not even a region might stand alone as an autonomous unit. Although a few regions have regional education committees or boards, their legitimacy tends to be questioned. Thus, a more effective level is the local level of the school and even the district, where community participation is often more tangible. Moreover, such participation does not require any legal justification, but justifies itself through the response to its own basic needs.

5.2 *The Present Situation*

As we have seen, education in Somalia is hardly characterized by uniformity. In fact, regional differences are such that we can speak of polarization. The Northwest Zone, or Somaliland, represents one extreme, with a functioning educational administration. The Southern Zones point to the other extreme, with an educational administration that is almost non-existent in the midst of war and conflicts. Between these two extremes we find the Northeast and Central Zones, comprising the regions of Bari, Nugaal, Mudug and Galgaduud.

The Northwest Zone, with its status as a self-proclaimed republic under "President" Egal, stands apart from the other Zones. It has a government and an administrative framework with various ministries and institutions, such as radio and newspapers, all centred in Hargeisa, the capital city. Increasing stability in this region encourages socio-economic activity in the "Republic." The situation remains volatile, however, since the Sanaag and Sool Regions are contested areas between the Northwest and the Northeast.

The Northwest Zone has its own ministry of education with over 1,500 personnel, including teachers. They are paid the equivalent of $100 a month, according to the approved budget, which allocates 15% to education. There is an inspectorate and various education officers, who work in the 18 districts and 5 regional offices. There is a total of 180 primary schools, approximately 35 schools in each region. The total student population stands at 35,000 of whom 26% are girls. The teacher population is 960 (7% female), 20% with secondary and university background, 45% with primary and teacher training background, and 35% untrained. At present, there are no secondary schools or teacher training colleges in Northwest Somalia.

Since 1993, the UN agencies, notably UNICEF, UNOPS and UNHCR, have been directly involved in rehabilitating schools in this region, especially in the rural areas, in organizing workshops and training courses and in supplying education kits. "Government" requirements for different "Somaliland editions" of textbooks and guides have made the provision and distribution of these materials difficult. UNHCR and UNOPS have contributed to the rehabilitation of school buildings. There has recently been a decline in external support to education in this region, however, due partly to donor fatigue, partly to political-economic problems. For example, Save the Children Fund (SCF) has pulled out of this area after a long period of involvement, and local NGOs have instead started to provide substantial support, notably the Islamic Relief Committee.

The Northeast and Central Zones have been more peaceful than any other part of Somalia in recent years. A report from 1993 notes that the Northeast was not so much rewarded as penalized for its political maturity, as international agencies have tended to ignore this area. Meanwhile, the provision of education was generally hampered by the lack of an educational authority (except in Nugaal), by the dearth of trained teachers, and by a shortage of educational materials. Since 1993, some limited progress has been made in reconstructing the education sector. There are nearly 100 primary schools operating within the 4 regions, attended by some 30,000 students taught by approximately 600 teachers, 20% of whom are female.

Although the school buildings in this area suffered only minimal damage during the war, they were completely looted during the war, and the administrative structures were destroyed. Apart from emergency measures taken by UNESCO and UNICEF, there has been no development of the school level. As a result, there is now a shortage of operational schools and classrooms, with the fully functioning schools operating beyond their capacity. The large influx of people, mainly Darood from the war-torn South, have strained the educational services. A substantial number of children are denied access to school, despite the existence of many empty school buildings, which has been a disadvantage to girls in particular. To remedy the situation, UNICEF has recently initiated projects to facilitate the education of girls and women. The training of more female teachers has received special attention.

The Southern Zones have received a large share of the international assistance provided by UN agencies and NGOs. As a result, many schools have been rehabilitated, educational materials have been provided, and overall management of the education sector has improved considerably. Thus, in the South, one can find very well established schools such as those managed by Trocaire and Norwegian Church Aid in Gedo Region, Concern and International Aid Sweden in Mogadishu.

The Southern Zones have experienced more war than peace during the last five years. Since the departure of UNOSOM in 1994/95, the overall situation in political and economic terms has seriously deteriorated. At the same time, many NGOs have reduced their assistance. In the South Central Zone particularly, the situation is very unstable, with militia and bandits marauding the countryside.

In the post-UNOSOM era, the renewed hostilities in the South have led to widespread primary school closures. A recent UNDOS-UNESCO survey shows that only 9 schools are functioning in the Middle Shabelle Region (adjacent to Mogadishu) out of the 61 primary schools that were in existence in 1988. Many rehabilitated school buildings are vacant and run the risk of being looted. In Hiran Region there were 18,000 school-going children two years ago. Now only two schools are functioning. To all appearances, a new emergency situation has arisen in the South of Somalia, which till recently had the largest number of functioning schools in the country.

5.3 Education for Development

As we have seen, education in Somalia shows a mixed picture. The key trait in recent years has been destruction: An entire education system has been almost totally destroyed. There is inadequate training for teachers, inadequate quality of teaching, inadequate monitoring systems, inadequate data, inadequate facilities and services; in short, inadequate teaching and learning. In fact, the education situation in its entirety is problematic, and so is, evidently, the implementation of Education for All.

On the other hand, there are certain positive signs of progress. There is an increased availability of textbooks and other educational materials and there is a certain provision of in-

service courses for teachers and workshops for school principals and the rehabilitation of school buildings. These successes should be recognized, however limited, as they imply a new beginning, a first step towards Education for All in a country devastated by civil war.

PART THREE

EDUCATION IN SOMALIA: A SITUATIONAL ANALYSIS

6. Crisis and Challenges

6.1 Education for All

It is only possible to ascertain the progress towards EFA in Somalia in relative terms. Given the state of crisis and the near total breakdown of the education system even prior to 1991, the take-off point in 1991 was virtually zero. Whatever happened since Jomtien, therefore, should be seen as a positive development. In view of the harsh conditions typical of Somalia after UNOSOM, the progress has been noteworthy, which attests to the determination, commitment and hard work of all involved: UN Agencies, NGOs, the local communities, teachers and parents. On a more sober note, however, it can be noted that quantitative progress towards EFA in Somalia has been limited. Out of the total population of six to seven and a half million, there is a primary school population of only 160,000, representing less than 10% of the target of EFA. For example, in the Middle Shabelle Region (in the Southcentral Zone), with 7 districts and an estimated population of 585,000, there were only 9 functioning primary schools in 1995, with a total student population of 2028, which means quantitative progress towards EFA is limited.

However, looking at numbers only is misleading. If we take the case of Middle Shabelle Region, there was a total of 61 primary schools in this region in 1988, but in 1995, only 23 primary schools could be identified, of which 9 were functioning. These figures show that at present, access to schooling is severely limited. On the other hand, certain progress is being recorded in non-formal education, although figures are unreliable.

The qualitative dimension of EFA is also of concern, since in emergency situations, this dimension is often neglected. But how long does an emergency situation last? In Somalia, the answer to this question varies. While several regions and districts in the Northwest and Northeast are relatively stable, this is not the case in Southern Somalia. For this reason, different strategies must be adopted for different areas. In some cases, the priority is teacher education, while in other cases, there is a need to address questions such as classroom resources, length of the school day and year.

6.2 The Organization of Education

In pre-war Somalia the Siad Barre Regime had a highly centralized but not necessarily a highly organized system of education in place. In 1987, it became apparent that there was a need for decentralization, that is, for strengthening the local administration, including regional and district education teams. Unfortunately, not much changed in the 1987-1991 period: education remained highly centralized, and when the Siad Barre regime collapsed in 1991, the centrally controlled system of education disintegrated.

By 1993, the UN Agencies acting under UNOSOM were faced with a serious problem, namely how to manage schools in the absence of local educational authorities. UNESCO and UNICEF opted for capacity building at the regional level by trying to revitalize the Regional Education Committees (RECs). The success of this strategy has varied. Presently, there are only some RECs that are functional, such as the Gedo Board of Education and the Mogadishu Board of Education. Another mechanism favored by UNESCO PEER, was the establishment of Education Development Centres (EDCs). These centres, primarily concerned with curriculum development and teacher training, sought to put the education system back in place. Such centres and smaller centres, or ERUs (Education Rehabilitation Units), currently exist in Mogadishu, Baidoa, Hargeisa, Huddur, Garbaharey and Djibouti. Another strategy developed by the UN agencies was to strengthen the Community School Committees (CSCs), which have to bear the responsibility of supporting schools until a ministry of education comes into existence. During the last few years UNICEF has set up more than 100 school-based committees, notably in the Northwest and Central Zones. Similarly, NGO's such as Trocaire and NCA have focused their efforts on the establishment of such school committees.

Whereas definite progress has been made at the school level, the organization of education at the district and regional levels remains problematic. There is a continuing need for local educational authorities to be reconstructed and supported through capacity building programmes. In the Northwest, a certain educational organization has already been established. The ministry of education, located at Hargeisa, is already in function, with about 1500 personnel, including teachers, working and receiving salaries. This contrasts sharply with other parts of Somalia, where no such ministry exists, and where capacity building in the education administration is urgently required.

6.3 Curriculum Development

Given the emergency situation of the early 1990s, UNESCO PEER has mobilized resources to restore the original curriculum, mainly through the reprinting and distribution of textbooks and teacher guides in selected subjects: Somali, Maths, Science, Health Education, Arabic, Islamic Studies, all for grades 1 to 4. The term "curriculum" might be confusing, however. A more appropriate term might be "syllabus", which details how and when a subject should be taught. In the UNESCO PEER retrieval of textbooks it is understood that the books reflect the "pre-war" curriculum and syllabus. To re-print and distribute the textbooks of the original curriculum is an exercise typical of emergency times. So far, this curriculum recovery process has been fruitful. In the case of the lower primary, the availability of materials is decidedly better today than it was before the civil war. But many schools are still without textbooks, as logistical problems often get in the way of distribution, and since it is often difficult to keep schools open.

The strategy focusing on textbooks and teacher guides was correctly adopted by UNESCO PEER during the initial stages of the emergency and it has benefitted the mostly untrained teachers in Somali schools. The strategy has been maintained as the emergency situation continues. It has been argued by Sesnan and Milas (1995) that the narrow text-based syllabus may not be adequate,

however, and they argue that a new curriculum and subsequent syllabus should be developed and that basic education must be understood in a wider sense than primary schooling. There is a need to be cautious here, however. Curricular changes are normally initiated by a legitimate government, as these changes reflect national policies. In Somalia today, this is not the case. Given this situation, neither UNESCO nor UNICEF can assist in the production of a new curriculum, unless they are mandated to do so by an internationally recognized government. Beyond the problem of legitimacy, there are also organizational problems, due to the fragmentation of the state.

In these circumstances, a case could be made for the idea of school-based curriculum development. On a trial basis, involving a few schools, adaptions could be made of curricula based on the guiding principles of various international conventions. Such an initiative should remain tentative and provisional, however, for as long as the emergency situation prevails, and in the absence of a validating national curriculum authority.

6.4 Teacher Education

It is evident that there is a great shortage of qualified teachers in Somalia today. For various reasons, even the few remaining qualified teachers tend to leave the schools. To remedy this situation, there is an urgent need to train new teachers. UNESCO and UNICEF have already taken initial steps to this end: through the head teachers' workshops and to the training of regional trainers (TOT) programmes, which attempt to deal with the problem on a short term basis. There is also the SOMOLU (Somali Open Learning Unit) which deals with teacher training in the medium term. These initiatives meet the needs of an emergency situation, but, however commendable, it is important to understand their limitations.

Teachers need to be trained, that is, be given basic skills of instruction and classroom management. This can be done before they start teaching (pre-service) or while they are teaching (in-service). In each case the techniques of teaching are emphasized and the teacher (to-be) is seen as an expert who can cope with the prescribed syllabus and the available texts, as well as with classroom teaching (schemes of work, blackboard work, presentation, marking) in an acceptable manner. The present programmes initiated by UNESCO and UNICEF seek to cater for these technical needs. Teacher education goes beyond training and the mere basics, however. Ideally, the teacher's subject knowledge should be enhanced and formally equalled to an academic qualification at (post)secondary level. As to methods, the teacher is to be more concerned with an overall approach or pedagogy than with mere techniques (Bennars, 1993). This approach derives its base from a professional understanding of the goals to be achieved and the methods to be employed. Presently, teacher education of this kind is lacking in Somalia. Yet, to improve the quality of education, good teacher education is indispensable.

This point becomes even more important in reference to teacher remuneration, a fundamental problem in Somali education. Current practices are un-coordinated and inadequate. The inadequacy can be traced back to the 1980s and the post-UNOSOM period. Today, it seems

clear that a minimum basic salary must be guaranteed through the joint efforts of local communities, NGOs and UN Agencies. But there is also a need for non-material remuneration if teaching is to be respected as an important profession. It is vital that NGOs, UN agencies and local communities realize that teacher education and the upgrading of skills are necessary requirements to turn teachers into professional educators and socially respected professionals, who can participate effectively in school affairs. However, the question of teachers' education can not be separated from the larger issue of curriculum change. In theory, the significance of teacher education is beyond doubt, but in practice it is difficult to translate the idea into actual policies in the absence of a Somali government.

6.5 Community Participation

Sustainable development requires community participation. If basic education programmes are to continue beyond the present period, there is need for community involvement. The situation in Somalia is not very encouraging in this respect. First, schooling, or more precisely, secular education, was a free government service prior to 1990. The question presently being asked by parents is why they should pay now, given the deteriorated situation. Second, in many cases NGOs and UN agencies, through their support programmes, have created the impression that secular education continues to be a service free of charge. Third, until recently, the community (however defined) has never been asked to participate in the maintenance and support of the schools.

Overall, it is necessary to increase the communities' awareness about the need to support their schools, possibly by linking school life more directly to life in the community. But there is also a need to boost the "capacity" of the community to support their schools. For this, donor support is required, at least initially. It is expected that such support could be reduced gradually through the introduction of income generating projects (IGPs).

With regard to community support, the work by NGOs, such as Trocaire and NCA in the Gedo Region, is significant. Not only do they operate at the community level, promoting income-generating activities as well as health, nutrition and social work, but they also seek to integrate village schools into the traditional systems of socio-economic life. In this way communities may begin to be more directly involved in the educational enterprise, which promotes the sustainability of these efforts. Greater emphasis on "basic education" may, in fact, promote the process of integration between community and school.

As noted by Sesnan and Milas (1995) there is often a degree of uncertainty about "the community", however popular the concept may be among aid workers in Somalia. For example, *residence* as a factor defining "community" is problematic in Somalia, particularly among the nomadic pastoralists. A more fruitful approach is to define "community" in terms of extended family and the network of interacting obligations and rights arising from it. The Somali concept of community is based on lineage relationships. At times, this concept may correspond to that of residence, for example a village, but not necessarily. It follows from this that schooling will not

be supported by communities unless it is an integral part of their lives. Presently, this is not the case.

6.6 *Educational Facts and Figures*

It is impossible to know how much progress has been made towards EFA when the number of school-aged children is not known, nor how many of these children are receiving education. The most basic statistics are not available, and when they do appear to be available, they are not very reliable. To date, there is no figure available for the whole population of Somalia, although figures exist for some of the regions and districts. It is therefore not possible to work out a figure of how many children ought to be going to school. It is also difficult to describe the population pyramid accurately. There are several reasons for this lack of data, notably the following:

(a) In many areas the population is still moving, or just settling down, after prolonged disruption. Part of the family will be in one place and part in another. In many cases, heads of families may not know where the different family members are. A child may be reported as being in more than one place by different members of the family.

(b) A large section of the population is nomadic.

(c) Figures in Somalia are not neutral and are therefore unlikely to be reported objectively. It is usually of advantage to claim high figures since the representation of (as well as the benefits to) any group will depend on its size. Similarly, other groups may go under-reported in different circumstances.

In most areas of Somalia, figures are available for the number of children registered in schools. In the Northwest, these figures have been compiled into an Education Year Book (latest edition 1994). However, they do not say much about the quality of the education taking place. They do not reveal what goes on in the classroom, how long the children are there, how much time is spent on each subject, the time spent on different kinds of activity in the classroom, or how much time the teacher is actually present. Moreover, there is no information about the number of weeks of schooling, nor the number of hours of actual teaching.

It is also difficult to measure the effectiveness of education (even in those few cases when it is known what inputs are provided), as reports rarely cover learning achievement. The question of data on learning achievement is pertinent, since EFA is about learning. However, there are no baseline tests on the level of knowledge at entry, which makes it impossible to measure progress, and there are no standardized external tests. For example, in the Northwest decisions on the content of the end of semester tests, as scheduled by the ministry, are left up to the individual teacher. There is thus a great need for data and standardization of testing.

7. Education in process

7.1 On Being Female: Enrolment and Retention

There is a great need to evaluate the gender-related factors of the girl-child's access to the education system and, more importantly, to the retention of girls. Policy actions geared to encouraging access to education does not adequately address the gender-specific obstacles to education. At the same time, policies ensuring access to education may not respond to the problems that impede the retention of girls in school if they do not also address the issue of equity.

Policy makers often try to address the socio-cultural factors that impede female access to and retention in schooling. However, this tends to be done from the demand side only, i.e. encouraging families to send their dauthers to school. An example of this is the campaign aimed at raising community awareness of the importance of education. While efforts like this are important, critical analysis shows that some socio-cultural factors have an economic basis, such as the value of girls' labour contribution to the household, which is often the rationale for decision making. Unless these economic factors are taken into account, policies are unlikely to yield results.

The enrolment ratio in lower primary education in Somalia seems to indicate gender equity in access to schooling, although a pervasive high drop-out rate among girls indicates inequity in retention. The alarmingly high female drop-out rates increase in higher grades, where the female presence (in grades III, IV and V) becomes almost nil. While this phenomenon could be attributed to various socio-economic and cultural factors, it can also be attributed to the inadequacies of the "culture of schooling." The following factors can be considered:

*Time:*School attendance is often incompatible with the economic role of girls (age 10-15) at the household level, and too often, school hours are inflexible in relation to household tasks. This argument can be substantiated by observing the high enrolment rates of girls and women in afternoon and evening classes; hours that do not normally interfere with their working schedule. In this context, it must be noted that the importance of a girl's labour contribution to the household and her irreplacability also relate directly to the retention of boys in school. A vicious circle, it seems.

The Dearth of Female Teachers in Upper Grades: Although the number of female teachers in preparatory and lower grades (I and II) continues to be much lower than those of male teachers, the proportion of female teachers decreases to nil in higher grades. Indeed, in Somalia one finds very few female teachers in higher grades, in school administration and on boards of education. There are several implications of this notable absence of female teachers. For example, an all-male teaching staff will render school premises a male domain, which may stop parents from sending their daughters to school or from allowing them to continue their education when they reach a certain age. Because girls reach puberty earlier than boys, girls are usually withdrawn from school during the fourth grade.

In addition to these supply side-factors, there is the overall factor of Somali culture which attaches a higher value to a boy than to a girl. Given the Somali practice of patrilocality, whereby girls leave their family residence after marriage to live in their husbands' homes, there is a strong tendency to send sons rather than daughters to school. It is argued (by parents) that a girl's education does not benefit her own family but only that of her husband. This line of reasoning is common among the non-urban population and in poor communities. For the same reason, poor parents tend to favour keeping their sons in school whenever payment becomes an issue.

While there are several factors that impede the retention of girls in school, the factors described above would seem to be easier to deal with than the larger socio-cultural issues. Nevertheless, the socio-cultural factors on the demand side require close attention if EFA is to become a reality.

7.2 Koranic Schools

It seems safe to argue that the mobile Koranic school, the *duksi*, is one of the oldest learning institutions in Somalia and one of the most effective avenues for learning. It is an organic part of Somali society in that there is not a single community without one and community support of this old institution seems to come easily. The fact that Koranic classes are continuously functioning despite the disruption caused by the atrocities of the civil war attests to this claim. Similarly, in refugee camps where many social and communal institutions have been suspended, Koranic schools continue to exist without any outside assistance. In the three Somali refugee camps in Djibouti, for example, there are 15 Koranic schools with one teacher managing each.

The *duksi* receive no financial support from parents, as is normally the case. They provide basic education in Arabic through the study of the Koran, and they operate at no financial cost except for the teacher's time. And this is compensated for by parents through some form of payment which is not necessarily in monetary form.

Recently, various arguments have been put forth which suggests tapping the advantages of this institution to deliver secular basic education. The logic behind such suggestions is two-fold: 1) this institution has survived the atrocities of the war; and 2) since communities all over the country seem to be willing to pay for its services, it should be used as a model for making secular basic education schools the responsibility of the community. This latter point seems to be the most challenging issue facing UN agencies and NGOs as they try to make communities pay for the services of secular basic education schools.

As an attempt to draw on the Koranic schools for secular education, UNICEF has designed crash courses for Koranic teachers to train them in delivering basic education, notably numeracy, literacy and health education. While this may sound innovative, a cautionary point seems appropriate: It is worth looking into the sociological factors that contribute to the success and persistence of Koranic schools before embarking on the replication of these experiences replicating its success story. It must be emphasized that the "religious" component is an important factor for

this success and religion, like language, is an integral part of culture. In this sense, Somalis are faced with the contradiction of having to deal with part of their culture (i.e. religion) using a different language. It must also be kept in mind that since the Koran is written in Arabic, religion becomes part of the culture which parents can not transmit to their offspring, and the Koranic schools, being institutions for learning and transmitting religion (even if only through memorization) resolve this contradiction for the whole community. It can thus be argued that they provide a very essential glue to the fabric of society. It is for this reason that Somali parents, and Somali communities at large, are very supportive of this old institution and have a very high regard for Koranic school teachers. As for the teacher, he may not accrue much material capital but he will gain a tremendous amount of symbolic capital, which assures him a high place both within the community and before God. This religious/cultural role vested within the Koranic schools is worth keeping in mind before we ask these schools to expose themselves to a secular education curriculum.

7.3 Islamic Education

Adult Islamic Schools: Since the collapse of the central government, and even shortly before the collapse, several adult Islamic schools have come into existence. These schools usually provide evening classes for basic learning in literacy and numeracy, but also lectures in Islamic studies. While there are numerous social reasons for the expansion of these Islamic schools, there are other reasons why they have become popular. From a practical point of view, the success of these learning centres in refugee camps and other places in Somalia is due to the following: i) They are mainly conducted in the evenings, and as such they do not conflict with the teacher's (as well as student's) time of attending to other matters. ii) Because of the strong religious orientation of these schools, teachers are not attracted to them because of the material gains involved. Rather, the material gains are seen as "accruing good deeds" *(ajir & thawab)*. The meaning of these concepts is explained below. iii) By concentrating on issues related to the after-life, these schools have a functional role; they provide answers to social problems and distract the learner from worldly interests. As such, they can be said to have a therapeutic value.

Private and Public Islamic Schools: Again, after the fall of the Somali Central Government, there came into existence a number of Islamic schools, established to provide primary education. These schools, both private and public, can be found throughout Somalia, and they all display certain unique characteristics. There is first of all a pervasive religious climate in these schools, defined in terms of a strongly Islamic-orientated curriculum. Arabic is the chief medium of instruction, with language courses being offered in English and Arabic by highly qualified and motivated teachers. Not surprisingly, these schools have a high enrolment and graduation rate.

The management of these Islamic schools is of special interest. A number of them are directly linked to, and financed by, international donors, the Al-Azhar University (Cairo), and the Egyptian Government. Other schools receive financial or material assistance from various sources, including UNESCO and UNICEF, for the rehabilitation of buildings and the provision

of textbooks. Finally, most Islamic schools charge tuition fees, ranging from 15,000 to 30,000 Somali Shillings per month. In this way, teachers and administrators receive monthly salaries on a permanent basis. The combination of a sound financial and educational management with a strong Islamic orientation is a recent phenomenon that deserves serious attention.

7.4 Nomadic Education

Throughout history, most people in Somalia (between 60% and 70%) have depended, as pastoralists, on their livestock. Not only do their animals provide milk and meat for subsistence, but they are also used for transport and serve as a store of wealth and a means of trade. The majority of pastoralist families support the nomadic education system through utilizing this livestock capital reserve. The movement of these settlements has been greatly influenced by the provision of permanent water sources, trading centres, increasing local government control of administrative boundaries and land management. The civil war has restricted seasonal movement, and pastoralists have become increasingly dependent on static service provision, which has resulted in strengthened relationships between sedentary and mobile communities.

It is common for pastoralists to combine livestock management with education. Most families seek to ensure that one or two of their children receive basic secular schooling. This was especially the case under the previous regime, where education was a free service. Out of four or five children, one or two were likely to be sent to a formal school, while the others would stay within the settlement to attend Koranic classes and look after the livestock. Prior to the civil war, it was often the case that nomadic children attended secular schools where available, although few would continue beyond secondary level, as they would be required to move with the larger animals and participate in the livestock management. Girls, in particular, rarely remained in school beyond primary level, as they were needed to take care of younger siblings and tend small stock.

All nomadic children attend the mobile Koranic schools and because of the informal nature of these schools, this teaching practice has remained strong despite the civil war. Although girls are not seen as priority candidates for education, and since at least earlier girls were excluded from the Koranic system, the promotion of the concept of "education" during the 1970's has had a signif'cant impact on pastoralists. Perceptions of education have changed and it is increasingly common for girls to attend both secular and Koranic schools.

Pastoralists and *duksi* teachers appear to be very much in favor of the idea of combining religious and secular subjects in school. If the subjects are practical and useful, and the approach sufficiently informal, they generally welcome the idea of combining the two, particularly as access to secular schools is always a problem for nomads. However, secular education for nomadic groups may undermine the factor that has made nomadic schools sustainable over the years; namely, the absence of dependence on any other educational material than the wooden slate. If the schools were to rely on text-books and materials from outside, or if the Koranic teachers were to be given the potentially marketable skill of a primary teacher, this could easily change the nature of the mobile school system and make it less accessible to the nomadic groups.

It is clear from the above that nomadic education requires investigation. It is a structure supported by the community, and building on an existing, traditional system, would seem to make efforts to develop the education system more sustainable. When discussing the problem of potential sedentarisation of trained mobile *duksi* teachers, one pastoralist noted: *"It is vital that you train one of us, and by one of us I mean a person who has many animals and moves with us when we shift. If we as nomads are asked to choose someone to be trained, we will choose someone who is part of us so the knowledge stays with our people".*

What Motivates Koranic Teachers?

Contrary to popular notions, there are no substantial monetary gains from teaching in Koranic schools. What a teacher gains in teaching the Koran is not necessarily tangible material benefits but a "symbolic capital" that assures him a high social position within the community and an appreciation from God, in the form of *ajir* and *thawab*, which, when accumulated, secures him a place in heaven. Both *ajir* and *thawab* are accrued through the provision of certain "good" services to others. Teaching the Koran to others is considered to be such a "good service".

When asked what motivates them to teach, almost all of the teachers answered: "We teach the Koran not to make money but to perform good deeds to please God. We are not working for worldly things but to amass good deeds for our after-life." A similar spirit can be found among a few teachers of adult education. With a curriculum heavy with religious studies, these teachers do not normally charge their students any tuition fees. Moreover, substantial material support to the Islamic learning centres, for example in the form of donations of a plot of land, the construction of classrooms and providing Koranic and Islamic textbooks, is often given by individuals who themselves would like to accrue "symbolic capital" as well as *ajir* and *thawab*.

7.5 Women's Educational Associations

The rapid disintegration of social and economic institutions at various levels during the last five years has had tremendous effects on male-female dynamics. One such outcome is the widespread phenomenon of female-headed households. While the sociological implications of this phenomenon are beyond the scope of this review, it is important to note that its expansion has led to the emergence of Voluntary Women's Educational Associations.

Since the civil war, many women have had to face complex social and economic situations, which has stimulated the need for basic education in numeracy, literacy and life skills. A number of local women's groups have emerged in Mogadishu, Borama, Hargeisa, Kismayo, Garoe and Baidoa, to mention but a few, in response to these needs. These projects, which are sustained through the integration of educational activities with income generating activities, could be used as models in other sectors of society as well, as they provide alternative approaches to adult education. The knowledge of both the specificities of the problems faced by Somali women and their insights into local ways of alleviating these problems are of immense value to adult education in Somalia. Support from international organizations, which is minimal at present, could enhance these local initiatives in delivering basic education to a larger section

of the society.

7.6 Secondary, Vocational, Technical and Tertiary Education

The most explosive section of Somalia's population is the youth who have had their secondary and tertiary studies interrupted by the conflict. Secondary, vocational and tertiary educational institutions disappeared altogether with the advent of the war. Now, only a few private schools provide secondary and vocational education in parts, and there are a few NGO-supported vocational training programmes in Mogadishu and Garoe. Adequate educational opportunities are not available to young people as an alternative and deterrent to violence. The plans of UNOPS and UNESCO to offer vocational training with a particular focus on re-integration of boy-soldiers and clan militia have yet to materialize. When they do, UNICEF plans to provide support to adolescent girls to increase their access to similar vocationally oriented projects. Materials for vocational and technical training are non-existent and need to be developed. There is also a need for remedial secondary education material to out-of-school youth, via appropriate open learning strategies. The Africa Education Trust, EC-Somalia and UNESCO are currently studying the possibility of placing eligible tertiary level students in universities in neighbouring countries. Taking everything into account, it may be safely asserted that adequate provision of secondary, vocational, technical and tertiary education is yet to materialize, and the sooner it happens the better, considering the future social costs of having so many out-of-school and armed youth.

7.7 Refugee Education (Djibouti and Kenya)

Increasing attention is being given worldwide to the need to guarantee the provision of basic education also in situations where communities are disrupted. In this endeavour, many efforts have gone into providing basic education to children in the Somali refugee camps in Djibouti, Kenya, Yemen and Ethiopia.

Understanding the current conditions of education in refugee camps, however, requires an understanding of the overall guiding policy of UNHCR, the UN agency that is specifically formed to oversee the welfare of refugees. UNHCR's policy operates on the premise that refugee situations are temporary and transitory. Hence, relief programmes do not warrant long-term objectives. This view is obvious in the initial stages of programme development whereby education is envisaged as a sub-sector of the overall social service programme offered in refugee camps. Currently, this approach is being reformulated in certain camps, by giving the responsibility of providing education services to qualified implementing bodies, such as UNESCO PEER in Djibouti, CARE in Dadaab (Kenya) and Radda Barnen in Aden (Yemen).

The objectives of the education programmes in refugee camps are geared towards repatriation. Consequently, refugee children are not integrated into the national schools of the host country. Rather, the programmes use materials and teachers from the children's community of origin. While these efforts provide a certain form of stability in the child's life, they also reiterate another psychological message: that the situation in the refugee camps is ephemeral, meant to last only a very short time.

In spite of the difficult social and psychological circumstances that characterize refugee camps, many Somali refugee children do have access to basic education. For instance, there has been a consistent increase in student enrolment is shown in many camps, with retention rates remaining at a high level, and the quality of education in the camps has gradually improved. More than 90% of the teachers in the

schools of the refugee camps have received in-service training, which has improved teaching methods and raised the motivation of the teachers.

In fact, the schools in these refugee camps appear to be functioning better than those in Somalia. While the very nature of refugees as a "captive audience" may contribute to the high attendance of both teachers and students, other factors also seem to influence the situation. Contrary to what is often the case, there is only one implementing agency in education projects in the Somali refugee camps, which seems to promote efficiency. Another factor is the commitment of the teachers, a fact that can be attributed to adequate remuneration.

While these developments are promising, lack of data from other camps than those in Djibuti and Kenya make comparisons difficult. Some schools also suffer from limited capacity, which means that many children are denied access. For girls, the situation is particularly ominous. Given the persistent shortage of water and fuel, girls are often engaged in securing their family's basic needs and in acquiring these two essential materials. The research for the present study shows that tasks such as having to fetch water and collect wood are the two main factors that contribute to girls' drop-out from schools. In some camps, there are also problems of security and fear of rape, which means that girls are even less likely to participate in schooling. A recent study showed that out of a total student population of 1,379 pupils in 1995, there were only 299 female students, and only 43 above grade two. Enrolments generally decline dramatically at the secondary level. Overall, however, there has been a steady growth of girls' participation in education in the 1990s. Various strategies have been developed to retain girls in school, for instance special recruitment efforts in a block to block campaign and support to evening classes for girls in the blocks. Teachers have volunteered to teach girls in the evening in their respective blocks of accommodation. In Djibouti, UNESCO-PEER has extended its classes to adult evening classes where many girls attend. In addition, CARE is planning to make uniforms available to girls and to start a shift school system for girls only. Priority is also being given to women in the recruitment of teachers and training of trainers (TOT) courses. While these various efforts may not change the situation overnight, it is hoped that they will bear fruit in the near future and help resolve the underlying problem of retaining girls in school.

PART FOUR

EDUCATION IN SOMALIA: AN EVALUATION

8. Summary of the findings of the study

a. Education for All

- Overall figures are normally not available and where they are available their validity and reliability are questionable.

- Quantitative progress towards Education for All is restricted by the politico-economic consequences of war and conflicts. Some progress, although limited, has been made, however, as compared to the immediate pre-war period.

- Improvement of quality is directly affected by the emergency situation, as efforts are focused primarily on the restoration of the curriculum through the provision of textbooks.

- Non-formal approaches have received attention, but often in a scattered, uncoordinated manner.

- School capacity in terms of student population varies greatly depending on the distance between school and students' homes and subsequent local differences.

b. The Organization of Education

- One of the most problematic areas in Somali education is the absence of a central educational authority at national, regional and district levels, except in North Western Somalia.

- Coordination of efforts, both national and international, is inadequate, leading often to non-congruent policies and practices in areas such as teacher training and remuneration, school administration, testing and measurement.

- UNESCO and UNICEF have tried to partly fill the vacuum left by the former ministry of education in the initial emergency situation. In doing so, these agencies have emphasized the restoration of formal education in, at times, a rather technical and mechanical manner.

- At this point in time, Somalia can no longer be treated as one unit or as one entity, considering the politico-economic variations between the different regions. The extent of emergency also varies greatly.

- The Northwest Zone and the Northeast Zone have entered into a more stable phase although insecurity remains. The organization of education is improving as the situation stabilizes, thus calling for a post-emergency education rehabilitation strategy.

c. *Curriculum, Syllabus and Curriculum Development*

- Given the emergency situation of the early 1990s, UNESCO PEER sought to restore the pre-war curriculum and syllabus by making textbooks and teacher guides widely available. Whereas the preparatory stage (writing, editing, printing) was generally successful, the distribution was sometimes problematic at regional and school levels.

- In the emergency situation, the work of UNESCO PEER and UNICEF have, by necessity, tended to be concerned with the restoration of the old curriculum.

- Alternative approaches are evident in the non-formal sector, but are generally lacking in the formal education system.

- The introduction of a new curriculum is difficult, if not impossible, in Somalia, as the UN agencies have no mandate to support change in the absence of a legal educational authority.

- Curriculum development is a problem area, requiring the input of both education experts in Somalia and international experts.

- An over-emphasis on "emergency education" in some regions by necessity slows down the development of alternative curricula, but UNESCO PEER has presently no mandate to act otherwise.

- Unlike the lower primary textbooks, the ones for the upper primary have been produced after the civil war in 1990. In this latter case, curriculum innovations can be incorporated more easily.

d. *Teacher Training and Education*

- In the emergency situation of the early 1990s, the shortage of qualified teachers was such that immediate measures were necessary. UN agencies played (and still play) an important role in teacher training.

- Teacher training is by definition limited and must be supplemented by teacher education, if professionalism is being aimed at. The distinction between teacher training and teacher education remains blurred in Somalia.

- An over-emphasis on emergency teaching in the present situation prevents UN agencies and NGOs from directly focusing on teacher education and professionalism.

- Teacher remuneration has always been problematic, since appropriate modalities of material and non-material remuneration do not exist.

- No attempt at a coordinated policy and strategy towards teacher remuneration is evident.

e. *Community Participation*

- Community participation at times remains a "slogan" without much content, as educational policies

and strategies tend to be imposed from above.

- There is evidence of limited community participation, at regional and particularly at school level. NGO's have attempted to encourage such participation in "their schools" through various capacity building initiatives.

- Little or no attempt is presently made to see community participation in the context of basic education and in terms of basic needs.

- The idea that secular education is to be a free service is perceived as the "norm" by Somali people, a perception that has come to have a hampering effect on community participation, and particularly concerning support to local schools.

- Community capacity is at times so limited that adequate community participation is not possible.

f. Educational Facts and Figures

- Basic statistics in education is usually not available, and when it is, it is not reliable.

- There are serious problems in obtaining accurate figures on population, without which educational figures do not make much sense.

- No data are available regarding the quality of education, or on teacher performance.

- No data are available on educational outcomes and learning achievement. No standardized measures of such outcomes are currently employed.

g. The Gender Factor

- Accurate figures about boys and girls attending Somali schools are not available, except for a few cases. Girls' access to school and the retention of girls in the system tend to be limited by several factors: i) the incompatibility of attending school with girls' economic role in the family; ii) the dearth of female teachers in upper grades; iii) he perception that girls' education does not benefit their own families; and iv) the tendency among poor parents to favour boys' education.

- Not enough attention is given to the supply side factors that hamper the education of girls, such as inflexible school hours.

h. Koranic Schools

- Koranic schools, or *duksis*, are one of the oldest learning institutions in Somalia, receiving whole-hearted community support.

- Koranic schools have persisted throughout wars and conflicts, and so has the support of the community of these schools.

- Koranic schools are religious institutions that cannot be compared to secular schools. Teachers

in Koranic schools tend to be remunerated primarily in symbolic terms over and above material remuneration in cash or kind.

- There exists a broad consensus that Koranic schools should be left to operate on their own without direct outside intervention.

- It is recommendable that if Koranic schools request assistance it should be provided, especially where formal education opportunities do not exist.

i. Islamic Education

- Islamic schools, which are well organized and well supported, are a new phenomenon.

- These schools attempt to combine religious and secular programmes, although the overall emphasis remains religious.

- Islamic schools tend to be more formal while at the same time more flexible than Koranic schools, and they present a better case for possible replication in the attempts to increase access to basic education.

j. Nomadic Education

- Nomadic education is widespread, considering that between 60% and 70% of the Somali people are pastoralists.

- All nomadic children receive informal education at home and Koranic education. Only very few nomadic children receive secular schooling.

k. Women's Educational Associations

- Several women's groups have emerged recently, voicing the need for basic education: numeracy, literacy and life skills.

- Women's associations are often able to forge a link between the formal and non-formal sectors of education.

l. Refugee Education

- Following the war situation in Somalia, refugee camps were established in Kenya, Djibouti, Ethiopia, and Yemen. Formal education programmes were introduced in each of the camps.

- Refugee education in the camps follows a well-defined pattern, usually well coordinated and well supported.
- Refugee education, given its well-organized character, contrasts sharply with education in Somalia.

- Refugee education at times lacks material infrastructure in terms of classrooms, furniture, etc. Despite these shortages, however, the situation is better than in most schools in Somalia.

9. Conclusions and recommendations

The absence of a Somali central government and a ministry of education during the last five years has brought a new set of challenges to UN agencies and NGOs engaged in education in Somalia. The following is a summary of these challenges and the responses to them by UN agencies, international NGOs and local communities as well as recommendations for future action.

a. Primary education

The focus of the educational provision in the post-civil war period in Somalia has justifiably been on the lower primary level (grades 1 to 4). A network of primary schools has been established all over the country thanks to the efforts of UN agencies, NGOs, local communities and, in the case of Northwest Somalia, the "Government of Somaliland." **Attention must now shift to the upper primary level (grades 5 to 8) in terms of production of curricular materials, teacher training, school infrastructure etc.**

b. Koranic schools

The Koranic schools (*duksis*) are very common in Somalia. They are supported for religious reasons and are an important means of cultural transmission in a language (Arabic) in which parents are usually not able to educate their children. At the time of the collapse of the school system during the civil war, some Koranic schools played a limited role in providing basic education. Where formal education facilities are non-existent or inadequate, they could continue to do so, in which case **the *duksis* need to be strengthened in terms of curricular materials and teacher training**.

c. Vocational, technical, secondary and tertiary education

As a result of the civil war and the consequent collapse of the education system, thousands of students have had their education disrupted. The social costs of Somalia having large numbers of uneducated and armed adolescents will be high if vocational, technical and secondary educational opportunities are not provided. **The initiatives taken by UN agencies and NGOs to provide this education will have to be strengthened.**

d. Nomadic Education

Innovative emergency education materials such as the Teacher Emergency Package (TEP) have been developed in Somalia. **These should be more extensively used to promote adult non-formal education and nomadic education.**

e. Refugee Education

UNHCR and its implementing partners, notably CARE-Kenya, Radda Barnen and UNESCO PEER, have ensured provision of basic education in the Somali refugee camps in Kenya, Djibouti, Ethiopia and Yemen. A "captive audience" has contributed to better attendance, and there is better in-service teacher training and supervision in the camps than inside the country. Education for

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repatriation has been the focus and curricular materials in Somali have been used in preference to those of the host countries. **These sound policies will need to be pursued till the refugees can return home.**

f. The Gender Factor

Although the male-female enrolment ratio at the lower primary level shows gender equity in access to schooling, a pervasive high drop-out rate among girls suggests inequities in continuing education. While there are several socio-economic and cultural factors to which this phenomenon could be attributed, a particularly important factor relates to the incompatibility of attending school and the economic role of girls at the household level. While there is a high demand for education among girls, which is indicated by the high enrolment rates for girls and women in evening classes, factors that perpetuate female drop-out include a dearth of female teachers in upper grades, the number of siblings attending school within a family, and the cost of attending school (the cost of books, uniforms etc.). **Supply side factors should be re-evaluated and reformulated if the female drop-out rate is to be minimized. Efforts to remedy the situation should involve 1) providing more evening classes to girls, 2) training more female teachers to make schools gender-balanced, and 3) recommending quotas, through the local education committee, for the proportion boys/girls that families should send to school. Female participation in school can also be increased by giving parents economic incentives, such as waiving tuition, if they send their daughters to school.**

g. Curriculum Development

The curriculum recovery process initiated by UNESCO PEER has borne fruit. With respect to lower primary, the availability of curricular materials is actually better today than it was before the civil war. Curriculum development is on-going for the upper primary level, for adult non-formal education, technical/vocational education, health and peace education. The following points could be noted: **(i) curriculum development should be the work of national curriculum developers, assisted by expatriate experts capable of bringing in an international perspective and knowledge of the latest developments in pedagogy; (ii) in addition to traditional curricular concerns such as literacy, numeracy etc, there is need to address more decisive concerns such as peace, health, life skills, mine awareness; (iii) while a strategy centering round textbooks and teacher guides was correctly adopted in the initial emergency/relief phase, there is need to go beyond this to emphasize the teaching-learning process and reduce teachers' dependence on textbooks and teacher guides.**

h. Teacher Education

With the high level of displacement in the overall population, many teachers have abandoned their schools or left the country altogether. It is estimated that the teacher population shrank from 3,375 in 1981 to 611 in 1990. As a result there are very few qualified teachers in Somalia. **To remedy the shortage of trained/qualified teachers, there is an urgent need to train new teachers. UNESCO and UNICEF have already taken the initial steps to this end. UNESCO-PEER in particular has developed an emergency teacher training programme, Somali Open Learning Unit (SOMOLU), which uses open learning techniques to offer teacher trainees pedagogic and administrative training. However commendable this effort might be, there is an urgent need**

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to extend the programme to include more untrained teachers. It is also necessary to encourage professional input and follow-up with reference to the quality of classroom teaching.

i. School Infrastructure and Rehabilitation

In the absence of a central educational coordinating authority, there has been an over-emphasis on rehabilitation of school buildings and the construction of new ones at the expense of sustainability and the provision of educational materials. **A more balanced approach and an effort to better coordinate available resources is needed. To this end, priority must be given to the process of learning, through the provision of learning materials and teacher training**.

j. Teacher Remuneration

During the UNOSOM period, teachers were remunerated in a haphazard fashion by international NGOs and the World Food Programme's Food for Work scheme. The withdrawal of UNOSOM and several international NGOs and the food delivery problems WFP has been facing due to the deteriorating security situation, have led to widespread school closures. **There is an urgent need to come up with alternative and sustainable ways of remunerating teachers. This has to be done jointly by the local community and operational agencies, taking due note of the community's capacity to pay for children's education.**

k. Sustainability

In the pre-civil war days, formal education had been financed totally, although inadequately, by the Government of Somalia. As structures such as government and ministry of education do not exist today, and as the local communities lack awareness and the means to support formal education, there is need for continued donor support. Operational agencies have tried to promote community awareness, encourage community contributions, levy fees, start self-sustaining teachers' cooperatives capable of running schools, and attach income generating projects to schools. **These and other efforts to enhance sustainability must continue**.

l. Local Education Authorities

Given the highly centralized character of the previous education system, local education authorities were never fully established. The collapse of the centralized system also brought the organization of education at district and regional levels to a halt. Local communities should be reconstructed and supported through capacity building programmes to enable them to take charge of the management of education at local level. Building capacity implies international exposure, particularly to neighboring countries, to new ideas, skills, methods, and approaches to educational governance. **Local communities should be strengthened and mobilized to form local school authorities prepared to take over school management once current operational agencies pull out. In regions where there is a local government in place, emphasis should be given to capacity building of the ministry of education, Education Development Centres (EDC) and Regional Education Boards (REB)**.

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m. Educational Data

In the absence of reliable educational data, progress (or the lack of it) in educational performance is impossible to assess. **It is recommended that a serious effort be made by UN agencies to collect the most basic data on education, and to do so in a systematic manner. It is further recommended that a special UN team or section be asked to coordinate this exercise.**

n. Education for All

In quantitative terms, Education for All is far from being realized in Somalia due to the severe conditions imposed by war and conflict. In terms of quality, too, Education for All is directly affected by the emergency situation. **It is recommended that the support given to emergency education in Somalia be continued and strengthened. It is further recommended that more emphasis be given to the coordination of educational services, both formal and non-formal, and to the improvement of quality in education as well as in teacher education.**

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